• 125 not remember how many children the oldest wife had had.

128 595 These statistics do not constitute a record of pregnancies. Children who died in infancy are probably not included. Female infanticide has not been reported in Ghegnia. Presumably all or most of the children grew to such an age that either they were still living in 1929–30, or were old enough at the time of death to have made an impression on their full or half brothers who were our subjects. Our figures tell how many wives each father had, but not how many at a time. It would be hard to get that information from a casual questioning done in public at the time of measuring. In 1929 polygyny was legally forbidden in Albania for Catholics and Moslems alike, and the Catholics had in addition the position of the church to keep them from revealing the polygyny of their parents in the presence of several dozen other people. One other obvious defect of our data is that we have no record of marriages in which no son was born, and no second wife taken. This circumstance, although rare, must have occurred. The reader may think, in view of the unusual sex ratio, 163 male to 100 female offspring, that Moslems failed to reveal the true number of girls born, but I do not believe that this was the case. The Catholics had the same sex ratio as the Moslems. Furthermore, if many more children had been born than were recorded, the reproductive systems of Gheg mothers would have been taxed beyond their capacities.

As table 1 reveals, 1060 Ghegs married 1375 women. Three-fourths of the men had but one wife each, the rest anywhere from 2 to 6. A third of all Moslems married more than once, compared to a sixth of Catholics. The greater plurality on the part of the Moslems reflects the greater fertility of the soil in the eastern tribes, which are almost wholly Moslem, and where a man can afford more wives and feed more children. The wholly Catholic tribes, Mirdita and Dukagin, are the poorest in Ghegnia. Where the Catholics and Moslems live together in about equal numbers, the Catholics marry as many wives as the Moslems. In fact, in Puka the Catholics had more. Religion therefore has little to do with the total number of wives a man marries, although it

[511]

[see p. 236 -- Analysis]

587 for her and she has joined their group. If there is a surviving brother who is single, obviously the expedient thing to do is to give her to him. She might even be given to a first cousin. However, the occasion sometimes arises in Ghegnia where the classical form of the levirate is indicated, and a brother, preferably an older brother, of the deceased, a man who is already married, takes the widow into his household. In Moslem communities this causes no ecclesiastical difficulty. In Catholic households it may bring about a conflict with the priest. In such a case the Law of Lek wins over the Law of Rome. Societal needs are stronger than religious taboos. The new husband may not be allowed a church marriage, and it is possible that he may not consummate the new union, but the woman enters his household, and he cares for her and her children.

595 The second mechanism is polygyny, in case the first wife fails to produce male offspring. This again is perfectly legal among Moslems and diametrically counter to Catholic rules. The priest will not allow the husband to divorce his wife who fails to give him sons. If she gives him daughters there is always hope that a son will follow, and the crisis may be delayed. But if after a suitable time there are no offspring whatever, he will need a new wife. He cannot divorce his old one, and he cannot legally marry his new one. Here again custom sometimes wins. I personally have visited only one household of Catholic Ghegs in which I knew that the master had 2 wives, and it was for this reason. It is little wonder, since Catholicism fits so imperfectly the economic needs of the Albanian family, that many of them went over to the much more satisfactory (in this respect) faith of Islam.

125 In making up the form of our measurement blanks before the expedition, Dr. Hooton and I allotted spaces for the notation of the following vital statistics: number of wives married by subject's father, and number of children of each sex born to each wife. We chose the subject's father rather than the man himself because we would thus be dealing with complete or nearly complete families. In every case we received specific answers; very few men, whose fathers had had 3 or 4 wives, could

142 edge-to-edge ratio for this age grade is 48. In
162 Luma, which stands at the other end of the
128 scale in bite form, 25 men in the same age grade had 11 edge-to-edge, 13 slightly-over, and one under. This gives a ratio of 46. If one counts marked-over with slightly-over and under with edge-to-edge, the ratios are reversed. The bakers were simply older men.

Much more research needs to be done if we are to explain the incidences of kinds of occlusion among Mountain Ghegs. All this report can possibly accomplish is to serve as a reconnaisance for specialists.

BITE AND FACE HEIGHTS

000 We have seen in chapter 11, "Age," page 74,[1] that unlike most other parts of the body, the face keeps on growing throughout life. In old age, however, this growth is often offset by the deterioration and loss of the teeth. As the teeth wear down and drop out, the dental borders of both maxillae and mandible shrink through absorption, and the chin and nose approach each other. These compensatory processes, face growth and dental attrition, do not necessarily move apace. Among some individuals the teeth remain sound until late in life; in others they deteriorate early. These differences thus affect not only means but also dispersions and measures of variability, including the probable error. In a series which includes a large percentage of men who have reached middle age, or in one in which poor teeth are common at any age, some method must be found to eliminate this source of error.

125 Being aware of this problem before leaving for Albania, I included in the measurement blank the observations *face shortening due to wear*, and *face shortening due to loss and absorption.* It was easier to observe dental condition with this problem in mind than to make general

1 [See cat. 116, p. 746 -- Analyst]

925

observations and then try to estimate the effect on face height later.

#128 142 Table 19 tells us the rest of the story. Shortening from wear went largely with the edge-to-edge type of bite, while loss and absorption were more characteristic of men who had had overbites, and whose teeth were less worn, in the instances where enough teeth were left to tell. In only 5 instances was it possible to attribute the shortening to both. Shortening due to wear set in 10 years earlier than that due to loss and absorption. The total face height means of the men who had suffered shortening from wear were significantly smaller than the total mean, in the + and ++ categories; the same was true of those subject to loss and absorption, in the ++ category only. In the case of the upper face height means, it was the men who had undergone loss and absorption who suffered the greater reduction, significant in both + and ++ categories. On the basis of these figures it seemed wiser to eliminate from the seriations of total face height, upper face height, and the dependent indices, the 164 men recorded as + or ++ in either loss category. With this correction the seriations given on table 4 were computed. The rejects came mostly from the older age grades, and no more than 22 per cent were removed from any one tribe.

One other question remains to be explored: whether, when wear, loss, and absorption are eliminated, the type of occlusion affects face heights. One might suppose that if 2 men had identical facial skeletons and identical teeth, and one man had an overbite while the other's teeth met edge-to-edge, the latter would have the longer face. As the last part of table 19 shows, this is not the case. Occlusion has no qualifying effect whatever on face lengths, except through wear, loss, and absorption.

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 83c-84.. Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 54f-54g.. Analyst]